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An experimental study in differential perception of status criteria

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AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY IN DIFFERENTIAL PERCEPTION OF STATUS CRITERIA

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REVIEW OF LITERATURE

While one cannot categorically state that there is no other way to organize society, the differential ranking of individuals and/or families within any given society appears to be a nearly universal trait of human groups.

The research reported here concerns the criteria that are used to determine social status and how they are perceived from group to group and individual to individual.

The review of literature surveys the general trends of thought as they have appeared in the field of social stratification. The material in this field is too voluminous to be presented in detail but a chronological account of the major emphases will provide a setting for the research which will be reported in this monograph.

When any culture develops in complexity even to the level of a neolithic existence--with the development of the domestication of plants and animals and a less mobile, more sedentary way of life--the resulting population increase and the division of labor seem to lead naturally to some kind of social stratification (17, pp. 96-97). Each society has its own system with certain unique features but, on the whole, it follows a rather well defined, general pattern.

The roots of our investigation of the subject are to be found in the early history of philosophy. Early examples of social thought such as the Code of Hammurabbi and the Old Testament also give an indication of concern over the

way an individual society was stratified. Philosophers more recently concerned with the area of stratification include Hegel, Marx, Engels and Weber. Max Weber represents the transition of social thought from the field of philosophy in general to the more specific field of sociology. He was followed by many other scholars among whom are: Charles H. Cooley, Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis, Robert Merton, W. Lloyd Warner, Pitirim Sorokin, Robert and Helen Lynd, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess.

Milton M. Gordon traces the development of the subject further in his Social Class in American Sociology. Within the discipline of sociology, the subject of social stratification has grown out of a fund of knowledge derived through other social concerns--principally ecology and anthropology. (We recognize that anthropologists, at least, may argue that their field is not to be confused with sociology but the anthropological techniques used by W. L. Warner in his research relate to a field--social stratification--which has come to be more closely identified with sociology than with anthropology.)

Gordon cites the following divisions in the development of the subject of stratification (16, p. 12).

1. The Multidimensional Approach
   Exemplified by Max Weber and others
2. Class in the Middle 1920's
   a. The Ecological School

b. Pitirim Sorokin's Social Mobility

3. The Lynds--the Middletown Studies

4. The Warner Studies

5. Other Community Studies

a. Status--Researcher Rated Type

b. Status--Community Rated Type

c. Occupation or Income Type

d. Studies of Friendship or Visiting Patterns

6. Critiques of Stratification Studies

The writings of Karl Marx and his followers focused attention on the subject of class as nothing had done before. The development of the struggle between the two classes--the bourgeoise and the proletariat--was defined as a struggle between "two great hostile camps" (16, p. 9). Serious students, those who agreed with Marx and those who did not, found a stimulus in his philosophy which no doubt hastened the development of the study of social stratification.

The work of the "fathers" of American sociology is characterized by Charles H. Page as being dominated by large-scale theorizing and analysis on the subject of social stratification. Not much was accomplished by way of empirical research. Page says that the early sociologists did offer two social stratification concepts which are useful. "One [was] a framework based on economic factors, the other [was] concerned with the more subjective elements of status feelings and class consciousness or identification" (38,

pp. 252-253). These formulations did not lead directly to any major school of thought concerning social class theory or stratification research. That development was to come later from impetus which was centered in the University of Chicago.

In the field of stratification there are at least three major theoretical issues which are developed explicitly or implicitly in most of the literature. Cuber and Kenkel identify these three theoretical themes as: 1) unidimensional versus multidimensional stratification, 2) continuum theory versus categorical theories, and 3) the issue of functionalism (9, pp. 303-314).

The unidimensional and/or multidimensional aspects of social stratification theory are difficult to analyze in the research because in most of the literature the issue is handled implicitly rather than explicitly (9, p. 22). Depending on the orientation of the researcher, most research models are developed with one or the other approach built into the framework without explicit reference to the issue. The tacit assumptions of researchers can be seen in the literature produced early in the era. This research model assumes the multidimensional approach.

Sociologists on the European continent appeared to be more engrossed in the economic features of society than with its stratification and this interest tended to orient Europeans toward the unidimensional approach. However, the

works of Marx and Weber along with Sombart, Simmel, Pareto and Mosca did provide grist for the stratification mill on both sides of the Atlantic.

Max Weber's discussion of the multidimensional approach was probably the most useful contribution to the subject of stratification which emanated from Europe from the above mentioned writers.

> The multidimensional approach to stratification in its present form has its origin in the work of Max Weber, who, in a brief essay...perceptively pointed out two important considerations: a) that there are several dimensions of stratification which must be kept analytically distinct, and b) that a person's position in these separate dimensions are not necessarily identical and frequently are disparate (9, pp. 22-23).

The dimensions distinguished by Weber were: 1) economic position, 2) social status, and 3) "power". These concepts are also called "economic order", "social order", and "legal order", respectively (52, p. 181, see also 9, p. 23). Economic position is related to the concept that individuals coming from similar economic situations have similar "life chances"--similar opportunities to buy the goods and services which they desire--and hence their life experiences depend to some degree upon market conditions (9, pp. 18-20). Individuals with similar life chances are said to be in the same social class. Later research has shown that life chances do correlate roughly with social status (9, p. 20).

Weber called the social status dimension a "social estimation of honor" (52, pp. 186-187). In this dimension

individuals who share the same position or prestige are, in the aggregate, called status groups. He said that there is a dynamic relationship between "class" and "status groups", and the researcher may expect these dimensions to vary from time to time and from person to person. Weber also stated that "property as such is not always recognized as a status qualification". Property, however, does tend to function this way in the long run and "with extraordinary regularity" (52). He further stated that "status honor need not necessarily be linked with a 'class situation'. On the contrary, it normally stands in sharp opposition to the pretensions of sheer property" (52, pp. 180-187). The dimension of "power", which was Weber's third dimension, is more nebulous than the other two. In this category he speaks of "parties" which may "exist in a social 'club' as well as in a 'state'". The underlying activity of the "parties" is in the direction of acquiring "power". It is an attempt to influence corporate action in one direction or another (52, p. 180).

Later on in this section we will discuss specific research which utilizes either a <u>continuum theory</u> or a <u>categorical theory</u> approach to social stratification. However, the fundamental difference between these two themes is so basic to the field of social stratification that it deserves to be treated generally at this point.

Categorical theories of stratification are an integral part of the method of research which postulates discrete

sets of social classes which can be exemplified by patterns of power, privileges and/or disprivileges, and prestige (9, p. 23). MacIver and Page state, perhaps without careful reflection, that a "portion of a community marked off from the rest" of the community "by social status" is known as a social class (33, pp. 348-349). Other researchers--notably the earlier researchers--have produced research making use of the categorical conceptualization. Basically, this research involves the assignment of individuals to a particular class or status range by a technique which relies on the insights of either the researchers or of judges who are chosen from the local community. Such assignments are made on the assumptions that 1) class dimensions actually exist, 2) residents of a community belong in one class or another, and 3) "it makes a difference both subjectively and objectively in which segment of the community one is" (33, p. 303).

Other researchers such as Cuber, Kenkel, Lenski and Kaufman have preferred to hold to the continuum theory of stratification which postulates "that there are several privilege, power, and status ranges more or less continuous from top to bottom with no clear lines of demarcation" (9, p. 25). Cuber and Kenkel state that the methods employed by the categorical theorists are not statistically acceptable when considered on the basis of generally accepted levels of reliability and validity, and that

subsequent research studies which have employed methods nearly identical with Warner's "have resulted in radically different conclusions on this question" (9, p. 305). If the basic hypothesis of this thesis is supported by the research data, it would tend to account for the appearance of a continuous rating scale. Most classification systems are dependent upon collective ratings from several individuals. If these individuals actually do tend to perceive status criteria differentially depending, for one thing, upon affectional relationship in the assignation of ranks, it becomes almost inevitable that there will not be any clear-cut lines of demarcation but rather a community consensus of opinion by which a "status crystallization" or "status consistency" is determined for each family. This, of course, supports Lenski's approach to social stratification (25).

Further criticism of the discrete-class hypothesis indicates that research data which are supported by researchers using the categorical approach "yield results along a continuum" (9, p. 306). Those studies which emphasize discrete categories yield data which could logically be interpreted as continuous data. It is extremely difficult to demonstrate that society actually divides itself into discrete units. Continuum theorists using "checkable statistical techniques have presented evidence favorable to the continuum theory" (9, p. 307). Stratification research,

which has been conducted without raising the issue of continuum versus categorical approach, has produced results which do not discredit the continuum theory.

The continuum theory is assumed in this research model although classes are used. It is anticipated that the assignment of an individual's rank will vary among the raters. Gordon discusses this problem from the point of view of an observer who is not committed to either approach. He points out that the evidence for the continuum theory does not "exclude the possibility that larger social psychological constructs of status levels exist in the minds of community informants along with finer prestige distinctions within each larger construct" (16, p. 149). This observation by Gordon suggests the possible value of both theories being employed for specific purposes and that the research method could be applied so that the researcher begins "with a minimum of structuring so that this level of response can be preserved" but it is also profitable to probe for the exact details and ramifications of the status construct as it exists in the minds of community residents" (16, p. 149). The continuum approach would be useful for research in depth.

Gordon holds that proponents of the continuum theory have made no clear distinction between the continuum theory and the alternatives in regard to the basic nature of status. He asks:

> "Is it a continuum because each individual regards the status order in his community as a continuum and ranks other persons or families only in individual status positions, or because each individual has a rough conception of a number of status groups and their nature but these separate constructs overlap so much and have so little agreement that the objective composite result may be regarded as a continuum." (16, pp. 185-186)

His argument continues that people do have the ability to categorize variable data even though these categories are "rough" and approximate. One recognizes the general categories of "short", "tall", and "medium" height and at the same time is aware of infinite possible variations within the population of heights (16, p. 186). One might well approach the status theory problem from the point of view of "the perspective of questions concerning the degree of articulation of the categories and how much agreement there exists about their nature among the various members of a community" (16).

He further suggests that there is value in each approach and specifies the following general propositions (16, pp. 188-189).

> a. In most communities, while individuals will vary in their conception of the status order, some perhaps seeing it as a pure status continuum, many or most individuals will have some rough or approximate conception of status levels. These are not likely to have sharp cut-off points, thus leaving room for many "marginals", but the degree of crystallization of the levels or strata present will vary with ego's status position in the community. Individual prestige distinctions will be made within these levels.

b. The degree to which consensus on the nature of these levels is present will vary with particular community conditions and will differ considerably from community to community. In some, a fairly high order of agreement, adjusted for differences in status level of judges, will be found. In others, the amount of disagreement will be so large that the attempt to precipitate out a series of approximate status levels for the community would be relatively meaningless. However, in view of the conjunction of the human tendency to categorize, with the exposure of most Americans to the dominant value system of the culture through the socialization process and mass communication media, the number of such "chaotic" situations may be quite small.

c. Optimum research techniques for discovering the nature of status order as it appears to community residents will include intensive interviewing with specific confrontation of the issue, probes, and at an appropriately early point in the interview, projective tests.

The nature of the research being developed in this thesis is such that its findings may give additional insight into discrimination between continuous and discrete data on the part of the members of a community.

There is a significant amount of theoretical discussion in the literature centering on the issue of functionalism as it relates to social stratification. The issue has been brought into its sharpest focus in an incisive exchange of views between Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, who presented a functional analysis of stratification, and Melvin M. Tumin who took exception to certain of their propositions.

The functional point of view is concerned with three postulates: 1) "That standardized social activities...are functional for the entire social...system, 2) That all such

social...items fulfill sociological functions, and 3) That these items are consequently indispensable" (9, p. 25). It appears that in most, if not all, of the known human societies there is some form of organization which differentially allocates prestige, power, and privilege among inhabitants of the community. Hence a logical question arises concerning the function performed by such stratification, the inevitability of such stratification, and, perhaps, even the desirability of stratification.

The position of Davis and Moore is that in order adequately to staff the various positions necessary for the production of goods and services and other community endeavors, society must motivate individuals by some means or other and the justifiable means of society is the differential-reward system of social stratification (9, pp. 309-310; 16, pp. 166-168). They state that this is a "universal necessity...in any social system" (11, p. 242).

The opposing position taken by Tumin stresses two especially salient points. First, social stratification does not function with uniformity in American society. While the stratification system may function to motivate some individuals to responsibility, certain positions as in government and education seem to carry much societal responsibility but the rewards are not commensurate with the responsibility. To the extent that this situation obtains in a given society, optimum use of human resources cannot be achieved. And,

furthermore, class conflict, conservatism, and "unfavorable self images among the less privileged"--all undesirable aspects of social life--appear to develop because of stratification.

The second major objection relates to a hypothetical situation and, while it is logical, does not appear to be forceful. Tumin argues that it has not been shown that a stratification system such as we know it is inevitable and it is conceivable that society could be organized in some other way even though no such alternative organizations are known to exist. He suggests that social organization could be motivated by 1) "intrinsic work satisfaction", 2) "social duty (reinforced by self-interest)", and 3) "social service" (46, p. 391, see also 9, pp. 28-29, 309-310, and 16, pp. 168-169).

Davis's reply to Tumin clarified the point concerning inequality of reward by indicating that Davis and Moore were focusing not on the differential prestige of individuals but on positions in the system. It is not stratification per se which prevents individuals from attaining certain statuses in society, but rather, it is due to a "function of the family system and the role of inheritance itself" (10, pp. 394-397). With regard to Tumin's point concerning the dysfunctional aspect of the system, Davis argued that research data are ambiguous and consequently it is difficult to attribute the cause to stratification. Although the

strongest argument against Tumin's second major objection may be that he has constructed a hypothetical situation which cannot be empirically researched, and consequently, cannot detract from a functional concept concerning societies which do exist, Davis argues that Tumin's alternatives for motivation in a society are altruistic and unworkable (10).

While Davis may be technically correct in appealing to a functional analysis which is concerned with the question of position only, other authorities feel that the responsibility still remains with the functional theorists to show how the kind of dysfunction pointed out by Tumin is to be handled within the context of functionalism (16, pp. 313-314). This criticism does not, however, discredit the construct entirely. As it is stated in one place: "In the broadest outline the functionalist theory is probably tenable" (16, p. 313). Varying philosophical orientations of these authorities are no doubt operative in this consideration of issues.

Ecological Patterns in Stratification

Early in the 1920's the influence of the University of Chicago educators was felt in the development of a number of significant studies of individual communities and social problems, in relationship to their ecological locus. These studies, taken as a whole, are not primarily stratification studies but rather they are attempts to identify the

geographical location of the individuals involved in the studies.

Out of these researches came such ideas as the concentric zone theory of city growth and, later, the sector theory. At this time scholars investigated social problems within this framework. An example of such investigation is the delinquency area concept developed by Clifford R. Shaw. From the point of view of social class research a limitation implicit in these investigations is that although the student of ecology is chiefly concerned with "community", it is conceived as a substructure of human interaction which is, for the purpose of analysis, set apart from communication and socio-cultural influences. Human interaction is reduced to competition for food and other necessities of existence in much the same way as plants and animals compete. Gordon points out that "society represents the social and cultural order where communication, custom, habit, folkways, and mores hold sway" and that the analysis of society as such "falls to the lot of the sociologist" (16, p. 23). Human ecologists are concerned with the conception of community from another frame of reference.

This is not to say that human ecologists are unconcerned about the social relationships of individuals but the varying points of view, as outlined above, indicate why social stratification could not be contained within the ecological framework of the 1920's. Neither the traditional ecological

concept of "zone" nor the "natural area" as it is related to social problems nor the "gradient" which relates to aspects of ecological distance is sufficient to describe the relationships among people on the social level. It is one thing to locate where individuals with certain characteristics live or congregate geographically but it is another thing to describe the dynamic process of interaction which relates one person to another person or to a group in a social context.

Social Mobility--Pitirim Sorokin

Sorokin published his volume, Social Mobility (44), in 1927 and although his work did not lead directly to a body of research based on his concepts, his work is of importance in the development of stratification literature. Sorokin conceptualized people as existing in "social space" which he defined as the "universe composed of the human population of the earth" (44, pp. 3-9). Social space is two-dimensional--horizontal and vertical--and individuals have the capacity to move in either one or both directions. The vertical dimension is seen as the "phenomena of hierarchy, ranks, domination and subordination, authority and obedience, promotion and degradation" (44, pp. 3-9). Not much attention was given in his work to the aspect of horizontal mobility which is the movement of persons from one place to another and does not necessarily entail a change in social status or

class. Rather, Sorokin developed aspects of vertical mobility by which he hoped better to understand social stratification.

The major types of stratification are defined by Sorokin as the economic, the political, and the occupational.

> If the economic status of the members of a society are unequal, if among them there are both wealthy and poor, the society is economically stratified.... If the social ranks within the group are hierarchically superposed with respect to their authority and prestige, their honors and titles; if there are the rulers and the ruled, then whatever their names (monarchs, executives, masters, bosses)...the group is politically stratified.... If the members of a society are differentiated into various occupational groups, and some of the occupations are regarded more honorable than others, if the members of an occupational group are divided into bosses of different authority and into members who are subordinated to the bosses, the group is occupationally stratified (44, p. 11).

With these definitions of types of stratification Sorokin attempted to show how it is possible for individuals (he did not deal so thoroughly with groups) to move up or down within the hierarchical systems. It must be admitted that support for Sorokin's arguments is derived more from theory than from empirical research. He has been criticized for ranging more widely than was warranted. However, when his contribution is taken as a whole and related to the period in which it was produced, the work can be valued as a major contribution to the subject of stratification and germane to this research model.

The Middletown Studies

The Lynds, Robert S. and Helen M., were early in the field of empirical research. They chose a midwestern industrial city in which they did intensive research beginning in 1924. The first volume produced as a result of the research was Middletown (31). It appeared in 1929. The second volume, Middletown in Transition (32), was published in 1937. The Lynds attempted to make an analysis of Middletown by classes and, in addition, they studied social change and institutional functions.

Their fundamental definition of social class is one that is related to occupations. Two over-all groups were called the Working Class and the Business Class. All the citizens of Middletown were categorized into one class or the other. A more sophisticated categorization was introduced only in an informal way when references were made to "the lower ranks of the business class,...the less prosperous business group, (and)...the working class with more money". These and similar phrases occur throughout Middletown.

Middletown in Transition continues the same dichotomy but the analyses of differences within each group are more critically made. By the end of the study the Lynds had actually expanded their categories to what amounts to a six-fold class system. In each case, differentiation among classes is determined by the occupational-economic factors

of each family. And the position of the male head of the house is the controlling element in the classification.

These pioneer studies contributed much valuable material to the subject of stratification especially because of the kind and quality of research which was carried on. Another contribution of the studies was that they provided further questions for future research. The approach to social class which was employed was almost exclusively in terms of occupation and this has its disadvantages, as does the two-class system. Later researchers gave more attention to the power relationships within and between classes and the function of social status.

The Warner Studies

The contribution of W. Lloyd Warner, formerly a social anthropologist on the faculty of Harvard University and later at the University of Chicago, includes the widely known Yankee City Series of four volumes published between the years of 1941 and 1947 (47, 48, 49, 50). Warner was assisted by a number of associates but the leadership which he gave to the project was such that it can be said that he founded a school of thought concerning social structure. Among those connected with this approach are: Paul S. Lunt, Leo Srole, J. O. Low, Allison Davis, August B. Hollingshead, Marchia Meeker, and Robert J. Havighurst. Hollingshead, however, has recently published Social Class and Mental

Illness (19) with Fredrick C. Redlich and this book represents research which goes beyond the orientation of the Warner school.

The best known contribution of the Warner group is the formulation of the conceptual scheme of six social classes: Upper-upper, Lower-upper, Upper-middle, Lower-middle, Upper-lower, and Lower-lower. These classes were said to exist and to have been differentiated in Yankee City and in Old City--two cities where research was conducted. It was postulated that similar classes could be found almost universally in other communities of the United States.

Basic to Warner's research is the position that not only did the researchers find these six groups but that the groups were also recognized by the inhabitants of the community themselves. It is not surprising that many subsequent stratification studies have followed this neat formulation either in whole or in part when one remembers the prestige of the school and the fact that the method makes for ease in statistical analysis. However, there have been more recent researchers who have sometimes not been able to identify six classes in their research and this has raised the question that perhaps these divisions are not as universal as they were once thought to be, and since other researchers have found a lack of congruence among the residents of a community as to who belongs in which category, there appears to be ground for the assertion that further

investigation is needed before one can understand the dynamics which underlie social structure. In the light of the previous discussion in this manuscript concerning the issues of functionalism and multidimensional stratification, this writer would agree with Chinoy who stated that a system of discrete categories does not encompass a single system of community relationships even though it purports to do so. It "is actually a composite version of the prestige hierarchy which is built from the varied perspectives of local residents" (8, p. 259). Cuber and Kenkel have stated that "there is reason to doubt...that such a neat system of stratification accurately portrays the status situation in most localities" (9, pp. 130-131). We would expect that the data presented in this present study will tend to affirm the notion of complex relationships which is supported here.

According to the Warner school all members of an individual family unit living in the same household share the same status. This position is to be expected since a crucial point for Warner is class endogamy. It is recognized that there are some marriages between classes but the general tendency appears to be marriage within the class group. One should recognize that this formulation represents a general conclusion implied by in the Yankee City and Jonesville reports rather than a statistically supported assertion. In the research reported here the same assumption of endogamy is made.

Other Community Studies

Following the work of the ecologists, the Lynds, and the Warner school, a number of other community studies were published. Each had its own individuality and contribution but, by and large, they followed a similar pattern of research. This pattern was to select a community and attempt to investigate it in depth. This is clearly the pattern of most of the earlier studies also. Gordon has divided these later studies into four types according to the methods by which community ratings were made (16).

Status--researcher rated

In this approach status is assigned by the researcher himself according to his own conception of status criteria. Broom and Selznick would classify this as an "objective approach" (6, p. 172). However, Gordon points out that "the ascertainment of process...is predominantly an 'impressionistic' rating by the researcher" (16, p. 125).

Stratification studies which are the status--researcher rated type include John Dollard's Caste and Class in a Southern Town (12), Albert Blumenthal's Small Town Stuff (5) (which is related to the aforementioned ecological studies), Hortense Powdermaker's After Freedom (39), William Kenkel's An Experimental Analysis of Social Stratification (23), and James West's Plainville, U.S.A. (53). This does not exhaust the list of studies but it is representative of them. In

each study the researcher attempted to rate the relative statuses of families in the community. Granting the contributions to knowledge made by each of these studies, one must also point to the use of the impressionistic ratings. One cannot be sure that an accurate picture of the community is perceived by the researcher who is responsible for the ratings. A similar criticism would apply to Hollingshead and Redlich and their recent study, Social Class and Mental Illness (19, p. 125), in which two sociologists made judgments as to where they believed each of 552 families rated in the stratification system of the community.

Status--community rated

> Ascertainment consists of a formal rating procedure, carried out, after appropriate instructions (from the researcher), by the various members of the community. Some form of average rating is then used to describe the status position of a given individual or family (16, p. 125).

Elmtown's Youth (18) is an example of the status--community rated type of analysis, as is the work of Duncan and Artis (14), Kaufman (22) and Schuler (42). In these studies the attempt is made to learn how individuals of the community rate other individuals in the community. It is an important technique which, from the research point of view, may be more defensible than the researcher rated type. However, in this approach one must handle the problem of the congruence (or lack of congruence) of opinions among the local raters. Even if the researcher were specific in laying the groundwork for the judges by listing the criteria by

which they should make their judgments, a variety of opinions could be expected from the judges. And, if the researcher does become this specific, he is open to the criticism that the criteria which he thinks important may or may not be important to the residents of the community he is attempting to study. This method compares with that called the "reputational approach" by Broom and Selznick (6, p. 172).

The problem of the best way to handle the diverse judgments of community raters does not seem to have been resolved adequately (16, p. 103). Researchers have tried to make a kind of average of the several ratings and use this composite as a final measurement for individuals or families. This works rather well for those ratings which are not too divergent, but the difficulty comes from the atypical rating scores. A device which is used, but appears to me to be suspect, is simply to label these atypical scores the result of poor judgment and eliminate them from the research. This no doubt simplifies matters but it does not resolve the problem. For if the researcher's interest is in knowing how individuals rate other individuals in the community, it would seem that every response is equally valid--if it is seriously given--and no matter how deviant the response is in relation to other judgments it should be included and not discarded. This present study attempts to include every rating which is offered.

Other difficulties which are involved in the community rated type of study include the difficulty of procuring judges who individually and/or collectively cover the entire range of statuses in the community so that no class or group of classes is unrepresented. There is also the problem of determining the number of class levels to be used, since all judges may not agree as to how many classes exist in the community. One way to handle this problem is for the researcher to decide arbitrarily on the number of classes and ask the judges to conform to that pattern. This procedure is not altogether unrealistic when there is evidence from other sources that the arbitrary number is adequate for the purposes of the study.

Joseph Lopreato has reported some results of his stratification study in Stefanaconi, Italy, a village of about 2,300 persons, in two recent journals (28, 29). He reports that the natives visualized a six-class system in 50 per cent of his interviews. He also found that a common set of criteria emerged. These were:

> 1) wealth and possessions; 2) family name; 3) achievement of the family head or of the children in a given occupation; 4) general behavior of the family--this included solidarity, "hard work", and "modern views"; and 5) general importance of the family--this included reputation, prestige and rispetto.

Lopreato's study contains aspects which are similar to the research reported here but there are sufficient differences between the two studies to lead one to expect

different results both in the interpretation of class structure and the selection of status criteria.

Still another difficulty arises when the community rated technique is applied to larger communities. Since the judges must have some knowledge of the individuals in the community in order to have a basis for judgment, it is reasonable to assume that it will be more difficult to find individuals who know everyone well enough to make competent judgments about them.

Occupation-income, or their combination

> These indicate a pattern of using certain objective factors in the stratification process. However, if the criterion of class is occupational, the explicit or implicit assumption is usually that the hierarchy of occupations indicates a hierarchy of statuses... In these studies the ascertainment process is the relatively simple one of securing the respondent's occupation and/or income (16, p. 125).

Studies which have used occupation and/or income as a basis for rating include The Middle Classes and Middle-sized Cities by C. Wright Mills (36), We Americans by Elin L. Anderson (1), and As You Sow by Walter Goldschmidt (15). The technique of classification is an "objective" method according to Broom and Selznick (6, p. 172). It is rather clear-cut and attractive since, if it is possible to determine a person's income or occupation, one has a categorical basis for judgment. Of the two criteria income is of course more easily expressed quantitatively and the range is subject to finer gradations. Occupation is probably more readily

ascertainable than income under many circumstances. It is usually to the researcher's advantage to determine both characteristics of status position.

When a researcher chooses to use an occupation or income scale, it becomes necessary to show that such procedure does in fact reflect the real situation in the community. It must be demonstrated that the scale, which may have valid application in another community, is valid in the one in which the research is being done. Further, if one accepts the multidimensional approach to stratification, the single rating would not be considered adequate to cover all aspects of community social structure. An occupational rating scale is used in this research as a gross indicator of status position only.

Intimate friendship or social visiting pattern

> This is the least crystallized and articulated pattern, but one with considerable potential significance for class analysis... Attempts are made to determine the friendship or visiting pattern in a community and to find out what factors are associated with such intimate relationships (16, p. 125).

Two representative studies which have made use of the study of friendship or visiting patterns are the work which has been done by Charles P. Loomis and associates in seven rural resettlement communities (26, 27) and Social Attraction Patterns in a Village by George A Lundberg and Mary Steele (30). Such technique is not unique in the field of sociology. It is a special application of the sociogram.

And, it must be recognized, the above studies are not strictly stratification studies. However, there is value in considering this technique as it relates to social structure. There appears to be a relationship between class levels and friendship patterns. This present study will attempt to demonstrate the point.

In the terminology of Broom and Selznick (6, p. 172) this is a "subjective" method. It would appear that the friendship or visiting pattern technique ought to be used along with some other, perhaps more objective, rating. It can be used to demonstrate the factor of cohesiveness within and between classes. The method would also give some indication of the power structure of the community and it could also be related to vertical and horizontal mobility. We would assume that this method would not be as effective in providing the researcher with direct evidence of class boundaries since it appears that friendship is a factor affecting the individual's perception of status. The technique predicates contact between certain individuals and families which is presumed to be cordial and voluntary but of itself the method does not show how this contact affects status. An objective of this study is to conduct an investigation which will help to clarify this relationship.

Recent studies reported by Rennie and Hilgendorf (41) indicate that in their opinion "when people are asked to classify themselves they must be given some point of

reference. In this case when such reference was absent the results were not usable." Using the "subjective," "objective", and "reputational" approaches to stratification, their findings indicate that the use of the first method

> in such a community (as Berryville) clearly requires giving the respondents a set of status reference points by which they can locate themselves if their responses are to be comparable with results obtained by (the other two approaches)... This finding strengthens the contention that "felt" position does not always coincide with an "imposed" classification of the researcher. There is clearly a close correspondence between the "felt" and the "imposed" structures.

It is the position of the writer that in any case there is a point of reference in the subjective method of stratification. If the respondent is not given Warner's classes for a point of reference, the respondent will use people. In the research reported here the point of reference was people. The design of the model forced the respondent to use himself as a reference point. He was also forced to use those with whom he had affectional ties. The aspect of the lack of usefulness may be related to the design of the research of Rennie and Hilgendorf. There is not sufficient evidence in the journal article to make a valid judgment about this, and after personal correspondence with the senior author, the writer was not able to learn about the research in greater detail. Hence, no judgment of their research is offered here. However, one can readily concur with their opinion that the three "standard approaches...are analyzers,

not automatic describers. The job of accurate description has to be done each time for each class identified" (41).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM

From the preceding review of the literature, it can be seen that important methodological and theoretical problems in social stratification center about the criteria of social status. Many references were made to the various criteria of social status used by different researchers, the various methods of determining which, or whose, criteria should be used, and the results of both of these factors on conceptual schemes for analyzing the status system of a community.

The Purpose of this Research

It is thought that the research here presented should make a contribution toward clarifying the persistent problems in the field of social stratification associated with the criteria of social status. The research reported here is concerned with the differential perception of status criteria and the major hypothesis of the study is that individuals in a community are not in agreement regarding the aspects of social life which are believed either to add or detract from a person's position in the community and thus it is to be expected that individuals will tend to upgrade the status position of the members of their own in-group.

Differential Perception

Within a community, differential perception of status criteria would result in a variety of judgments used by

community members in ranking one another. That is, if the general status system is perceived differently by community members and if they use different status criteria, we would expect that they would judge differently the other members of the community. From general sociological knowledge, and from some of the work in social stratification, it would be supposed that important factors affecting differential perception of status criteria would be the positions in the community occupied by the individual and the effects of this on his associations with other community members. Thus, it is contended that if members of a community were stratified in a manner that emphasized their in-group relationships, it could be demonstrated that status judgments and actual assignations of social status would differ significantly from in-group to in-group.

A review of contemporary points of view related to social status and associational patterns may help to delineate the present research more clearly. Loomis (26) has suggested that the people who occupy similar social statuses confine their affectional contacts, at least in relation to friendly visitation, to those who are congenial to them and to those who belong to the same social status. This point of view would seem to indicate that class distinctions would be more easily discernible if one were to employ a statistical design which would identify characteristics of people and develop a suitable set of correlations which, in turn,

would identify characteristic friendship and visiting patterns.

Similarly, Duncan and Artis (14) report that they found a characteristic pattern of intra-class visitation to exist among 62 per cent of the households researched when the subjects were categorized as Blue Collar, Farmer, and White Collar Classes. It was reported that in the random sample only 37 per cent of the pairs showed cross-class visiting patterns. It is significant to note that neither of these two studies, nor the one to be mentioned next, made the aspect of differential perception a focal point for investigation.

West (53) devotes part of a chapter to a section called: "Differential Attitudes Toward Class Structures". He approaches the subject from the point of view that classes exist and that people have differing ideas about or attitudes toward the people who are in these classes. In an earlier chapter he indicates that the Plainviller judges others by adding "ever'thing I know about him up in my head" and striking an average (52, p. 118). West says that this judgment "is not the assignment of class status, but the designation of 'respect' which [the person] feels is due that person <u>within</u> the ranks of the class where he 'belongs'". West considers that "respect and class are separate aspects of the prestige system". Not everyone would agree with this dichotomy.

Several sources could be cited to support the contention that one of the contemporary needs in social stratification research is the development of methods by which we can better understand the effects which affectional relationships have on a stratification system. In discussing problem areas in stratification theory and research, Gordon (16, pp. 177-183) treats the subject of "status conflict". He poses a question which he asserts to be of "crucial significance":

> To what extent can it be assumed that the various members of a community will have a sufficiently similar set of value standards with regard to social stratification that, barring misinformation or lack of information, they will rate other community members in the same way? Obviously the concept of a system of hierarchical statuses depends on the assumption of a widespread consensus of the standards of evaluation and at least an oblique concession of status inferiority by those at the alleged bottom of the status hierarchy. If such common standards and widely dispersed consensus do not exist, then some form of opposition of status claims may be present which could hardly be placed within the framework of status hierarchy (16, pp. 177-178).

Gordon points to the occupation-economic complex as the "core of general status judgments or ratings" in our society. But, he says, "there is more than this core complex". Important additions are such criteria as "style of life, social participation, personal behavior, community power, and others, none of them unrelated to the occupational-economic complex but none of them entirely coincidental with it (16, p. 177)."

Barber discusses this same problem area under the

heading of "Other Forms of Social Differentiation" (2, pp. 58-59). He mentions factors such as power, occupation, and income as "objective" criteria and other factors like ideologies, attitudes, and aspirations as "subjective" criteria. Then he states: "a problem that has been much discussed in the theory of social stratification [is] the problem of whether certain 'objective' social factors are better or worse criteria for determining position in a system of stratification than certain 'subjective' factors." He then points out that both "subjective" and "objective" criteria "might be a useful basis for some purposes" and that a theory of stratification "that deals in either-or terms with 'objective' and 'subjective' criteria is not the most useful kind". He believes that all social factors should be considered and that they all are "amenable to accurate scientific research" if the proper research design can be found for the problem. It is a purpose of this present research to experiment with a method of investigation which may aid in the understanding of "subjective" criteria, as Barber uses the term.

Barber states the need for research of this kind most succinctly in another place (2, pp. 132-133).

> A somewhat more reliable way of using social intimacy as an indicator of social equality is needed. Unfortunately, little research effort has been put into developing techniques for the purpose... The usual indicators--eating together, attending formal parties at home, and the like--have not been improved upon by social scientists,

although they have improved their systematic observation of these kinds of behavior.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to show that the research which will be presented here is pertinent to current problems and the further development of social stratification theory. We have attempted to indicate in general terms how the results of the research may make a contribution to the field. The hypotheses of the study will be stated more specifically in the chapter dealing with the analysis of the data.

It has been asserted that there is good sociological reason for expecting differential perception to be demonstrated as a significant factor in the determination of social status. If Reiss (40) is correct in his analysis of communities when he says that persons "have positions in a local community depending upon the composition of the population, the basis for status attribution, or the roles which a person occupies in the community", then it would seem reasonable to expect members of a community to rank one another differently.

In sociological literature the term in-group is taken to refer to a social group situation in which individual members of the group have a sense of relatedness, a sense of belonging together in the group. This sense of belonging is sometimes referred to as "we-feeling". It is this kind of

empathy among members of the in-group which could be expected to affect the perception of one who ranks another person of his own group. Probably he will upgrade the member.

Although the concern of this research is differential perception, it is understood that the design of the model cannot demonstrate differential perception, per se. It is assumed, that if the data indicate a significantly different pattern of status criteria mentioned and status rankings performed among the groups studied, that these patterns are due to differential perception of status criteria among the respondents.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this research were gathered in a rural village of 1,100 in northwest Iowa. The community is quite homogeneous and, while the usual aspects of social stratification appear to be present, there are no unusual features which would lead one to anticipate anything other than the usual community relationships. This chapter will deal with an outline of the methodology employed in gathering the research data.

The research model required a panel of 10 judges, a random group of 45 persons, three subgroups of 15 persons each, an occupational rating scale, and two questionnaires. An attempt was made to devise a method by which local community norms and status ratings could be defined so that there would be a measure against which the judgments of the individuals in the subgroups could be compared. Evidence of differential perception of status criteria within the community is assumed to be found if it can be shown that significant differences occur in the judgments of individuals in the subgroups when compared with the judgments of the panel of judges or the random group.

The Panel of Judges

After the development of the research problem, the next phase of the research was concerned with the selection of 10 persons to serve as judges to rank the families of the

community. These persons were chosen with the following criteria in mind. Taken as a whole, the judges should represent an adequate cross section of the community. Individuals selected as judges should be expected to know nearly everyone in the community. It was further desirable for judges to be chosen from a wide range of ages and from all status levels as they appeared to the researcher. The degree to which the choices of judges fit the above criteria may be seen by the reader as judges are discussed in relation to their criteria for status judgments.

Each judge was given a set of 296 cards with the name of one resident family listed on each 3x5 card and was asked to rank the families from high to low status. He was then asked to separate the families into as many classes as he felt was appropriate for that particular community. In this manner the total number of households in the community received rating scores.

The judges were given no criteria for ranking the families, nor were they given suggestions concerning the number of groups to use when placing the families into classes. If a judge asked for guidance on either point he was told that we wanted his own thinking on the matter and we did not wish to impose any limitation on him. Since the cards were left with the judges and picked up later, it is possible that some judges may have asked others for suggestions on how to rate a family. However, because the judges knew that it was

possible to categorize families as "unknown" instead of ranking them, it is likely that most judges did not consult with others.

Status Criteria used by Judges

Although specific criteria were not discussed before the ratings were made, after they had made their ratings, the judges were asked what criteria they had used. Since this information is pertinent to the whole study but does not directly enter into the tabulations, we shall include the material here. The judges are grouped in relation to the number of classes they employed.

Judge number 1

This young man was 18 years of age and a high school senior in the upper quartile of his class. He was born in the community to parents of moderate income. He is well known and well liked in the community. His criteria for his three classes are as follows:

Group 1. This group represents the best people I know. They are probably the closest to being good Christians as any I know, although some may not attend church regularly or donate to every worthy cause.

Group 2. This group is second in my opinion to the first group in that they do not appear to be the best people they could be. They do not try to be good Christians, but they do try to live within the laws of our society. These are the "good guys" of the community or the ones who "seem" to be important.

Group 3. This group is the one that, in my eyes, does most to harm the town. They care only for themselves. They may be very wealthy or poor but they are the poorest group of people I know.

Judge number 2

This judge is the wife of one of the richest men in town. Her husband is the owner of a private bank in Iowa. She is about fifty-five years old and has been a resident of the community for thirty years. The family has Methodist affiliation.

Group 1. These are of most value to the community as far as sincere service is concerned.

Group 2. Not necessarily active, and if they appear to be active, it is for their own personal gain and not an act of service.

Group 3. The quiet members of the community; however, they have their place also.

Judge number 3

She is the wife of a feed salesman and is about forty years old. Her church relationship is Roman Catholic. She is well known in the community because of her participation in community activities. It is significant that the criteria of judgment which follow are strikingly similar to those just mentioned for Judge Number 2. However, an examination of the people who are classified according to these criteria indicates a wide difference in value orientations. This is most noticeable in the placement of tavern owners, who were placed in the third class by the former judge and in

the first class by Judge Number 3. Her criteria are as follows:

Group 1. Promoters of the community. These persons active in community organizations.

Group 2. Good people who sit around and don't do much.

Group 3. Those who don't do anything for the community. Low class.

Judge number 4

This man is a high school principal, is about forty years old, and has been a long-time resident of the community. His mother lives here as do many of his relatives. His listing of criteria is unique among the judges.

Group 1. White collar
- a. money
- b. founders of the community
- c. family background
- d. position
- e. conduct
- f. friends
- g. type of work, white collar, etc.
- h. own business
- i. education

Group 2. Other than white collar
- a. usually not owner of a business
- b. usually not a college graduate
- c. type of friends
- d. background
- e. conduct

Group 3. Bar type
- a. satisfied with positions
- b. not highly educated

Judge number 5

This man owns a drug store which he inherited from his father. He is a member of the school board and active in the power structure of the community. He is a Methodist. He has some accumulated wealth and his income is probably well above the average for the community. He rated each family according to the manner in which they took care of their needs and met their financial obligations. These ratings were listed simply as:

Group 1. Good

Group 2. Average

Group 3. Poor

Judge number 6

This judge is pastor of the local Missouri Synod Lutheran Church. He has resided in the community for eight years. It is apparent that his rating scheme has built-in theological overtones in regard to his criterion for Group 1. While this rater's judgment accounts for the selection of individuals different from the judge who selected on the basis of paying the bills or the judge who placed tavern keepers in the top class, it is a valid and reliable account of one individual's perception of status criteria. The criteria Judge Number 6 used to differentiate four classes follow:

Group 1. Members of the Missouri Synod congregation

Group 2. Community leaders

Group 3. Potential leaders

Group 4. Those with whom the judge had only passing acquaintance.

Judge number 7

This person is the widow of a man who farmed in the community since 1921. In his last years of life he sold farm machinery and equipment in the village. The widow judged people according to their occupations and she said that she believes that the people having the most influence on the community were those in the higher groups. Below is the list of criteria which she supplied the researcher.

Group 1. Clergy

Group 2. Those actively engaged in business

Group 3. Laborers

Group 4. Widows

Group 5. Retired farmers

Judge number 8

This person is divorced from a man whose parents are prominent members of the community. Her former husband is in California. There are five children in the home, all of whom are in elementary school. The family is receiving county welfare aid. Her parents live in the community. She reported that she classified persons according to her own personal thoughts about each person and their way of life as she was aware of it.

Group 1. Humanitarian--[these were largely non-professional people.]

Group 2. General (benevolence and charity)--[this category included those whose profession called for humanitarian activities.]

Group 3. Personal--the average person in the community.

Group 4. Conservative--elderly persons who can't help others.

Group 5. Philanthropist--[by and large those were people with some wealth who appeared to her to be obnoxious people even when they helped others.]

Group 6. Self-seeking--thoroughly selfish individuals having no concern for others. [There is some indication that among these may have been classed the men who "propositioned" her knowing she was a divorcee in need of money.]

Judge number 9

This judge is an older male resident of the community with an average standard of living. He sells seed corn and insurance. At the present time he is living in semi-retirement. In earlier days he acted also as a foot doctor, a job for which he had no professional education. He reported his criteria as: "work, finance, and character". He said he used a 6-point rating scale for each of these three. Therefore, those who appeared highest in all three criteria rated 1. His category of "work" did not appear to be discriminating since no family rated lower than two out of a possible six divisions. Thus we discarded this category and took the average rating of the other two criteria as the

rating score for each family. The relative rankings of the families were not destroyed by this procedure.

Judge number 10

This judge is a man who has been a long-time resident of the community. He is the local station master who has been with the railroad for many years. He is a member of the Roman Catholic Church, owns a few pieces of property in the community, and has been an enthusiastic member of Alcoholics Anonymous for the past six years. He judged each family according to three criteria: 1. character, 2. formal education, and 3. personal wealth. Then he rated each family within the three groups from high to low. This method produced a scale from 1 to 9. For example, if a person had good character, formal education, and was wealthy, he then received a rating of "1".

Transformation to a Uniform Scale

In their rankings of the same families, the various judges employed three, four, five, six, and nine classes. In order to obtain the average of the Judges' ratings for any one family, it was necessary to convert the different ranking systems to a uniform system. A scale from 0 to 100, low to high, was selected for this purpose and the rankings assigned to families were then converted to ranks on the one hundred point scale. Following this, the average of the rankings available for each family was computed.

This same conversion system was employed later with respect to the five-class ratings used by the subgroups. It is thus possible to make a direct comparison of the average rating of the judges with the average ratings of the individuals in the subgroups. It also is convenient for comparison with the North-Hatt Scale which rates occupations from a high rating of 100 to a low rating of 20 (37, 3, pp. 411-426).

Occupation Rating Scale

In an attempt to include a second unbiased source of status rating, this research includes ratings derived from the North-Hatt Scale as developed by the National Opinion Research Center and later expanded by other sociologists (37, 7, pp. 52-56). While it is felt by the researcher that the North-Hatt evaluations are more applicable to urban situations, they appeared to be of value to this research as well. It was assumed that a positive correlation would be found among the status ratings of the judges, the random group, and the ratings derived from the North-Hatt Scale.

The North-Hatt ratings for this community were determined with the help of the person who is listed as Judge Number 4 after he had rated personally the families in the community. This man is the high school principal. He has had some undergraduate training in sociology and is a long-time resident of the community. He had accurate knowledge

of the occupation of each person in the village.

Selection of Groups for Investigation

At this point in the research the total population was grouped in the following manner. The judges were placed in one group, the families affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church, and the Methodist Church were placed in three separate groups and the balance of the population was placed in the fifth category.

The individual families in the fifth category were numbered consecutively and a random sample of 45 was chosen from this group. Families stratified according to their religious affiliation were given an occupation rating which was derived from the North-Hatt Scale.

The construction of the subgroups proceeded as follows. From the previous stratification of groups as outlined above, 15 individuals were chosen from each of the three religious affiliation groups. The selection of individual families was made in such a manner as to include persons of varying status positions as indicated by the average of the ratings of the ten judges and by the North-Hatt Scale. Further, it was decided to exclude, as much as possible, from any subgroup persons who were unknown to any of the ten judges. It was felt that those who were unknown to the judges would likely be unknown also to many in the subgroups and hence could not be rated by them. The design of the research did

not call for the random selection of individuals in this group.

Although the basic stratification technique by which the population was grouped was on the basis of religious affiliation, it is important to note that other affectional ties may be found within each subgroup which tend to separate one group from the others. One may assume from the literature on cross religious marriages, that although these do occur, such marriages are less frequent than those within the religious group. Hence the choice of Roman Catholic, Missouri Synod Lutheran, and Methodist Church affiliation also tends to separate the subgroups in the matter of kinship ties. Further, it is commonly known that the Missouri Synod theological position disallows membership in "secret" social fraternities. It is also well known that Methodists may not be members of the Knights of Columbus and that the Roman Catholic Church forbids membership in a society such as the Masonic Lodge. Similar rules apply to women's groups. Hence, certain social contacts are excluded for the members of these three subgroups by the nature of the situation. Of course, one does not intend to imply that there are no contacts outside of the subgroups. The only assumption made here is that the contacts are reduced and restricted to some degree between the subgroups and encouraged within them.

Measuring Status Determinants

The next step in our methodology involved the development of an objective method for determining the status criteria used by the various study groups. To this end, a questionnaire containing 90 items relevant to status was administered to the random sample. With regard to each item, the respondents were instructed to indicate on a five-point scale how important they personally felt the characteristic or behavior was in affecting social standing and, on another five-point scale, their impression of its importance to the community.

This questionnaire (Appendix A) was originally developed by Robert Rohr, adapted by George Beal for use in his Community Action Course, and further revised by the writer for its specific application to this research. The revised questionnaire was pretested in a rural sociology class by Dr. Joe Bohlen. It was found satisfactory. The instrument was mailed to the random sample along with a stamped, self-addressed envelope for return mailing. Forty of the 45 questionnaires were returned.

The responses from the questionnaires were tabulated and a median was determined for each of the 180 responses provided for on the instrument. The results were plotted on a scatter diagram and 26 questions were chosen which appeared to provide a reliable index of community norms as viewed by the random group. The medians of the 26 questions are shown

plotted in Figure 1. A second questionnaire was then prepared for use with each of the three subgroups with the assumption that agreement between any of the subgroups and the random group regarding community opinion of status factors would indicate subgroup awareness of community norms and that disagreement between any of the subgroups and the random group regarding personal opinion would indicate personal disagreement with the community norms. If disagreement was shown to be at or above a significant level for the latter measure, this would be taken as support for the hypothesis that differential perception of status criteria is a factor in status ascription.

Technique of Data Collection

At the time data were gathered from the subgroups, the writer was teaching sociology at a college in a nearby city. On two previous occasions he had made use of the village for field trips by his classes with some success so it was decided to use the members of a current sociology class to gather the data from the 45 persons in the subgroups. It was felt that this would provide a logical reason for the interviews without arousing questions in the minds of the members of the subgroups which might bias the data. With the cooperation of the editor of the local weekly paper, an announcement was made concerning the field trip in which it was emphasized that members of the community would be

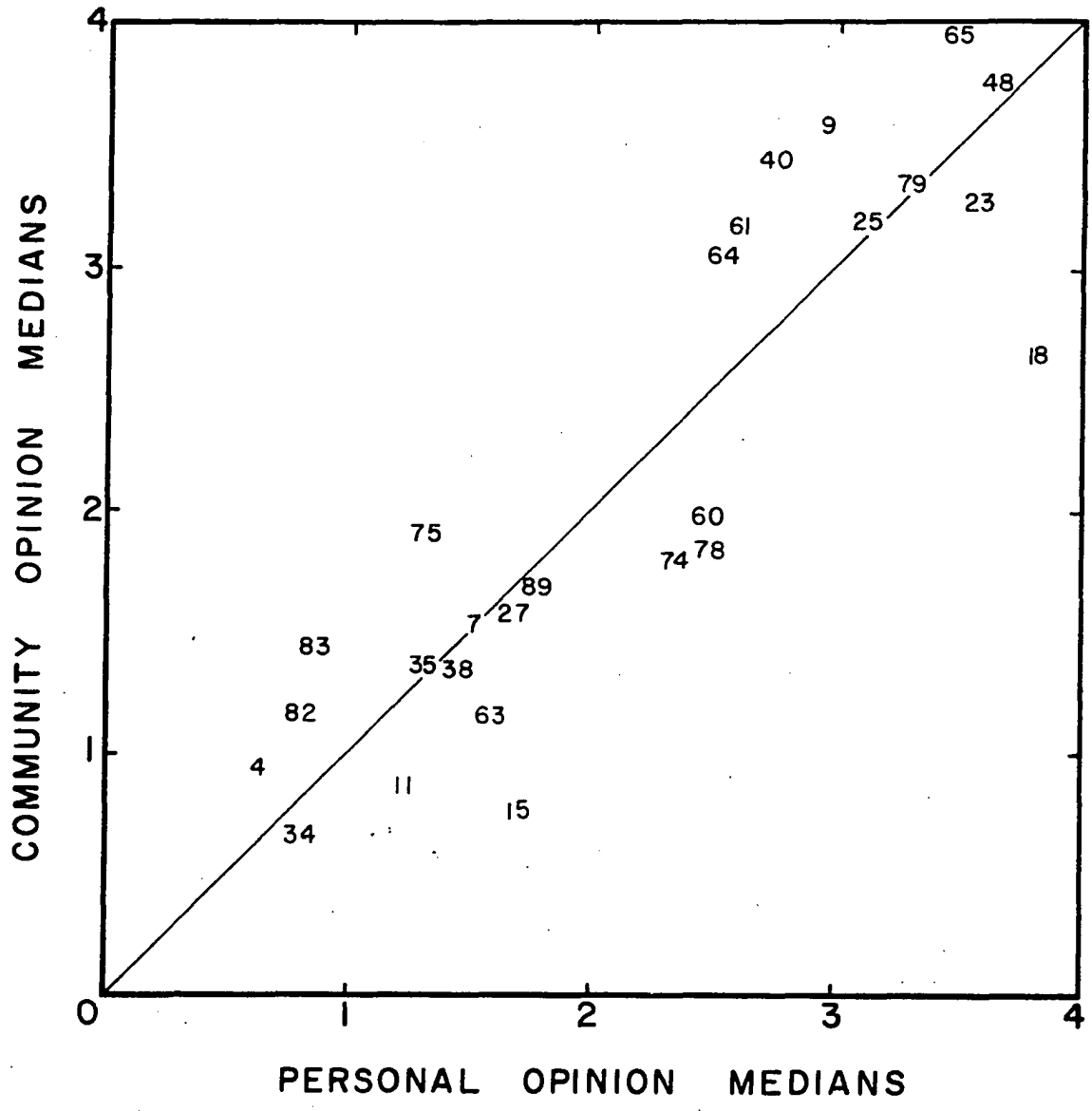

Figure 1. Scatter diagram of random group responses to status criteria (attraction-detraction scale, 0 to 4)

contributing to the education of the students by means of the interview. The students were briefed regarding research procedures and the specific steps required in the interviews.

In addition to the second questionnaire mentioned above and included in Appendix B, 45 sets of cards were made. Each set contained the name and address of the person to be interviewed on one card and the names of the 44 other persons in the subgroups, one name to a 3x5 card. One questionnaire and one set of cards were provided for each interview.

The students were instructed concerning the specific steps to be followed in the interviews and were given general instructions concerning such things as how to introduce themselves and how to establish rapport with the respondent. A copy of the instructions furnished the students appears in Appendix C.

Each respondent was given a set of cards and was asked to sort them into three social classes, high, middle and low. Respondents were instructed to set aside any cards containing the names of people they did not know well enough to rate. When the first sorting was completed, respondents were asked to divide further the high class and the low class. The class that each respondent assigned to the people in the three subgroups, himself included, was recorded on the appropriate card and the questionnaire was administered.

Most of the interviews were conducted on the first

interview trip and call-backs were completed by the students within a week. Completed questionnaires and status placements were obtained from 44 of the 45 persons. The data were transferred to summary sheets and were then ready for analysis.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Before the data are analyzed it may be helpful to restate the problem and give the specific hypotheses which are being tested by the data.

We believe that there is a need for research concerning the differential perception of status criteria in order to understand better the factors which determine status ascription. We have pointed out earlier that in most instances social stratification research has dealt with factors other than the affectional aspects of status relationships. Several authorities have stated that not enough attention has been given to the development of statistical models which are capable of measuring the differential perception of persons who apparently employ different frames of reference when making status judgments.

At the present time, much of the research in social stratification is centered in one or another of the several facets of the multidimensional approach to stratification. The research reported here is in this general area. The study is not presented as a final answer to the differential perception problem. It may, in fact, give rise to more problems than it solves because the study suggests that, in some respects at least, individuals in a community may have their own private judgment about a person's status position regardless of other kinds of status evaluations. The significant aspect of this observation is that these individuals

operationalize their perception and interact with others as if their private judgment were the norm. And, for them, perhaps it is.

There is no attempt here to say that there are no other ways by which status is ascribed than by individual perception. On the contrary, there appear to be others. Some seem to be more easily investigated. If the result of this thesis is that further research in differential perception is deemed useful, it will tend to make the problem of the assignation of status rank a problem of greater complexity. It will be all the more difficult for one to conceptualize the relative status of a family at any given time when one considers the dynamics of the situation. We are sure, however, that students of the discipline agree that aspects of social stratification cannot be ignored simply because they may add to the complexity of the subject.

The Hypotheses

This research attempts a study of differential perception of status criteria by stratifying the population of a village in such a way that the affectional inter-relationships of the community are emphasized. The method employed was to separate out three groups whose religious affiliation is such that it could be expected that strong in-group ties have been developed. The three groups were Roman Catholic, Missouri Synod Lutheran, and Methodist. The theological

differences or positions of these groups do not bear on this study except as they relate to in-group cohesiveness. It is commonly known that two of the three churches take the theological position that each is the one "true" church. It is also well known that cross-religious marriages among these three groups is officially discouraged. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, certain formal social groups mutually exclude those who do not belong to the particular in-group involved. The contention that members of any one of the three churches constitute an in-group is basic to the study.

On this basis and in the light of our understanding of social stratification we hypothesize that:

Ho. 1. When groups are stratified according to religious affiliation such as outlined above, the members of the subgroups will differentially perceive the status of others.

Stated in the null form: There are no significant differences among raters in the perception of the status positions of those included in the sample.

In order to explore this problem, the research model employed two different approaches to the measurement of differential perception. One method was the actual ranking of the people in the sample by every other person included in the three subgroups. Each person was asked to rate himself and all others. The second method approached differential perception through the use of an attitude questionnaire in which the persons being studied were asked to indicate

whether certain specific situations tended to add or detract from a person's status in the community. These two approaches to measurement lead to further hypotheses.

Measurement by Rating

In relation to the status rating of individuals in the sample it is hypothesized that:

Ho. 2. When persons are stratified according to religious affiliation, the members of the three subgroups in this study will evidence differential perception by ranking the members of their own group differently from the others, tending to upgrade the members of their in-group.

Stated in the null form: There are no significant differences among the subgroups in the average status ranks assigned to each of the families in the sample.

In an attempt to develop an objective standard with which to compare the ratings of the members of the subgroups, a committee of ten judges rated the 45 families in the sample. When comparing the ratings of a subgroup with the judges' ratings it is hypothesized that:

Ho. 3. When stratified according to religious affiliation, the members of any one of the subgroups will perceive the status of the members of their own subgroup significantly differently from the judges as evidenced by the ratings given.

This hypothesis stated in the null form would read:

There are no significant differences between the average status ratings assigned by the members of any subgroup and the average ratings assigned by the judges to the members of the same subgroup.

Measurement by Questionnaire

It is assumed that if differential perception is a factor in status criteria there will be differences in the interpretation of the aspects of social interaction which may be believed either to add or to detract from a person's status in the community. Thus the responses to the questionnaire about status criteria (Appendix B) may be expected to be different from subgroup to subgroup. This point of view leads to the hypothesis that:

Ho. 4. When comparing the responses to the questionnaire, differential perception of status criteria will be evidenced by significantly different responses to the items of the questionnaire, varying by subgroups.

The null form of this hypothesis is: There are no significant differences among the members of the subgroups in regard to the pertinent aspects of status criteria as evidenced by the responses to the items of the questionnaire.

The objective standard against which these subgroup responses were tested was the responses of a random group of 45 who answered the same questions which were included in a longer questionnaire (Appendix A). It is assumed that,

since both the random group members and those in the three subgroups live in the same community and have similar opportunities to observe and evaluate status criteria as they are applied in various social situations, unless the factor of differential perception is an aspect of the social situation, it could be expected that similar responses would be given by those in the random group and in the subgroups. Since we anticipate that differential perception is a factor, we hypothesize that:

Ho. 5. When comparing the responses to the questions administered to the random group and the three subgroups, differential perception of status criteria will be evidenced by significantly different responses from each of the subgroups in comparison to the responses of the random group.

Stated in the null form: There are no significant differences between the responses of any one of the subgroups when compared with the responses of the members of the random group.

With these five hypotheses in mind we will present an analysis of the data in two parts. We will look at the results of the rating measurement technique first and then at the results of the responses to the questionnaires.

Analysis of Status Ratings Data

In the previous chapter we discussed the manner by which the status ratings were secured for each of the 45

Table 1. Summary data from ratings

	Average rating scores (less self-rating) by subgroups															
A. Average ratings of Catholics																
																Total
by: Judges	58	70	61	76	51	43	41	73	55	64	57	60	61	22	66	858
Catholics	52	77	58	83	56	52	56	60	56	56	62	64	69	11	79	891
Lutherans	58	73	50	86	43	35	44	52	54	67	67	86	63	04	83	865
Methodists	52	70	59	80	46	39	57	52	53	53	64	64	57	09	73	828
B. Average ratings of Lutherans																
																Total
by: Judges	46	50	66	49	58	26	26	70	59	40	35	59	66	44	51	745
Catholics	17	36	58	52	48	34	46	56	56	42	48	46	79	46	50	714
Lutherans	39	43	67	45	64	34	57	54	57	50	47	44	69	48	44	762
Methodists	21	29	61	46	65	27	41	50	46	50	39	42	59	46	57	679
C. Average ratings of Methodists																
																Total
by: Judges	35	53	70	86	50	80	47	53	08	52	44	54	60	76	80	848
Catholics	48	71	86	90	62	84	55	61	21	58	50	54	75	81	90	986
Lutherans	42	61	72	94	50	77	54	62	14	50	54	46	73	87	96	942
Methodists	46	58	84	79	56	84	58	61	04	56	56	54	67	88	84	935

families in the sample. First we received ratings from a panel of ten judges, later we asked each of the 45 persons in the subgroups to rate himself and everyone else. After a transformation of these scores to a uniform scale, we obtained four rating measures for each person by computing averages of the scores assigned by persons in four categories--the three subgroups and the judges. The four judgments of status rank for each individual appear in the summary Table 1.

The method which was chosen to analyze these data was the split-plot design. We derived four rating values for each subgroup as a whole by summing the average scores (see Table 1) assigned by the four sets of raters: Judges, Catholics, Lutherans, and Methodists. Thus, for each subgroup, we have rating values given by that subgroup, the other two subgroups, and the judges. These values are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Rating values of subgroups by raters

	Catholic	Lutheran	Methodist
Raters			
Judges	858	745	848
Catholics	891	714	986
Lutherans	865	762	942
Methodists	828	679	935

The values which appear within the plots (columns) are the sums of the ratings being received from the four rating sources. In this sense the persons who were given ratings are to be thought of as "ratees". These 45 persons in the sample who received a rating (ratees) were also asked to assign ratings to others. In the performance of this function they were, along with the judges, "raters". The judges functioned only as raters in this model. Thus the four rows in the table divide, or split, the three plots into component parts. This is the split-plot design which makes it possible to identify values which may be contributing significantly to the interaction of the whole system of status ratings.

It is important to note that the design makes it possible to determine statistically if there are any "row" differences from one column to another. In the light of our second and third hypotheses it is expected that such differences will be evident. To the extent that such significant differences occur, the data will be regarded as giving support to the hypotheses.

Applying analysis of variance test

Table 3 summarizes the analysis of variance test of the status ratings data.

For the subgroup effect, we have $F = 2.69$ with 2 and 42 degrees of freedom and this is not a significant value.

Table 3. Analysis of variance of the data from Table 2

Source	Degrees of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean square	F	F table values .01	.05
Subgroups (S)	2	5,688.03	2,844.02	2.69	5.15	3.22
Ratees/ Subgroup	42	44,423.17	1,057.69			
Raters (R)	3	402.33	134.11	3.33	3.94	2.68
RxS	6	666.19	111.03	2.67	2.95	2.17
RxRatees/ Subgroup	126	4,069.23	40.23			
Total	179	56,248.95				

This result is to be expected in this analysis since this test is a general over-all measure of agreement among raters. This measure indicates, in general terms, that the subgroups see themselves in about the same relative position as others see them.

For the Raters effect, we have F = 3.33 with 3 and 126 d.f. and this value is significant above the .05 level. This measure gives some support to the contention that it makes a difference where the ratings come from. When raters are arranged according to subgroups, there is a variance in the rating scores. Statistical significance was expected for this measure on the basis of the hypotheses being tested. Since the F value lies about half-way between the .01 and

the .05 level, perhaps some caution needs to be exercised in the interpretation of this effect. Nonetheless, there is reason to assert that the characteristics of the three plots differ--probably beyond the possibilities of chance.

There is a greater degree of significance indicated in the Raters x Subgroup interaction. When this mean square is tested for significance, we have $F = 2.67$ with 6 and 126 degrees of freedom. This value is significant considerably above the .05 level. It appears that this test rather strongly supports the contention that, by separating out the scores which the raters of a subgroup give to the ratees of the same subgroup, there is a significant difference from the scores assigned by other raters to the same ratees. In general, this means that certain raters see certain subgroups generally higher than do other raters. In terms of the split-plot design, interaction is indicated when each plot is split into its four component parts.

Application of the analysis to hypotheses

This split-plot model was chosen to test hypotheses two and three.

Ho. 2. When persons are stratified according to religious affiliation, the members of the three subgroups in this study will evidence differential perception by ranking the members of their own group differently from the others, and they will tend to upgrade the members of their own group.

Ho. 3. When stratified according to religious affiliation, the members of any one of the subgroups will perceive the status of the members of their own subgroup significantly differently from the judges, as evidenced by the ratings given.

From the Analysis of Variance (Table 3) we have evidence above the .05 level that there is variance in the rating scores. There is further evidence, at a confidence level approaching .02, that interaction is present between Raters and Subgroups. There is also evidence from the same table that each subgroup is relatively homogeneous since the F value for Subgroups was nonsignificant. Therefore we may conclude that differential ranking occurs among these subgroups both in relation to subgroup ratings and to the ratings of the judges.

The assumption was stated in a previous chapter that differential ranking of persons is indicative of differential perception. Thus, with this assumption in mind, we state that we do not find evidence in this analysis to refute the two hypotheses tested. The hypotheses are provisionally accepted with the recognition that higher levels of significance would be preferred.

It must be noted that evidence has not yet been presented from this analysis which supports the assumption in the second hypothesis that members of each subgroup will tend to upgrade their own members. This evidence is best

presented graphically as in Figure 2. This graph was constructed from the same data from which the analysis of variance was made. (See Table 2). Hence the same levels of confidence would apply.

It is to be noted that in every case the members of each subgroup rated their own members higher than did the judges. In two of the three cases the in-group rating is the highest of the four measures. This evidence is taken to support the contention of the hypothesis that members of each subgroup do tend to upgrade their own members.

It is concluded from this analysis that differential perception is evidently a factor in the assignation of status ranks to individual families.

Analysis of Questionnaire Data

The second approach to the measurement of differential perception mentioned previously was the use of the questionnaire. Although the first questionnaire which we used (Appendix A) contained 90 questions, only the 26 questions which were used in the second questionnaire are considered in this analysis.

We hypothesize that if individuals perceive status criteria differently, it will be evident in their responses regarding status criteria. Differential perception will be operative in the assessment of what people believe the community norms are and also in their own personal evaluation

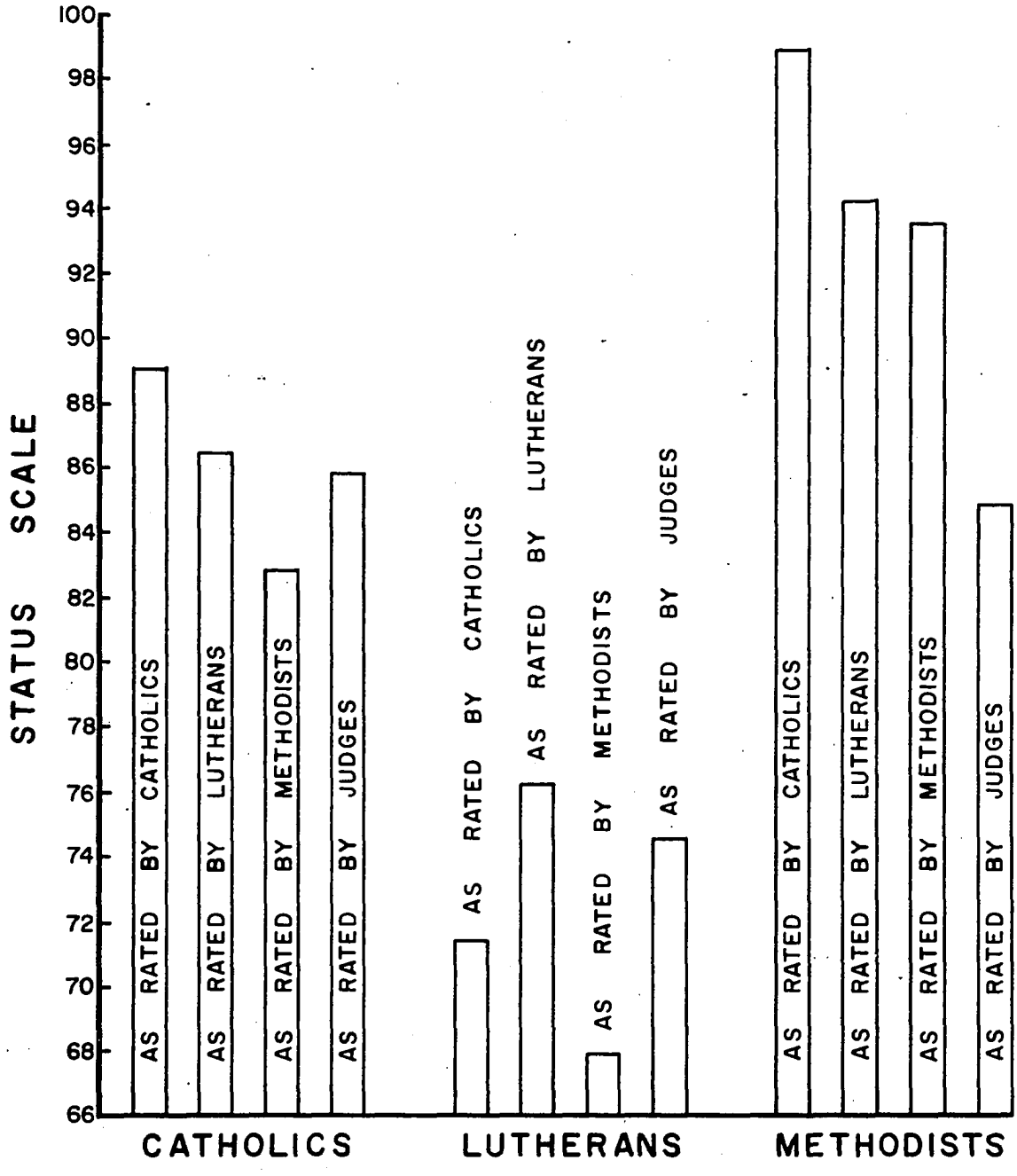

Figure 2. Differential status ranking of in-groups by four groups of raters

Table 4. Summary data from questionnaire

Item	Average opinion scores											
	Catholic opinion			Lutheran opinion			Methodist opinion			Total for subgroups		
	P	C	P + C	P	C	P + C	P	C	P + C	P	C	P + C
1	0.58	0.64	1.22	0.70	0.64	1.34	0.78	1.20	1.98	2.06	2.48	4.54
2	1.33	2.25	3.58	2.00	1.60	3.60	1.64	1.90	3.54	4.97	5.75	10.72
3	2.25	3.16	5.41	2.20	2.50	4.70	2.32	2.72	5.04	6.77	8.38	15.15
4	0.78	1.13	1.91	0.92	0.65	1.57	1.10	0.94	2.04	2.80	2.72	5.52
5	2.13	1.00	3.13	2.16	1.88	4.04	1.90	1.64	3.54	6.19	4.52	10.71
6	3.16	3.33	6.49	3.67	3.00	6.67	2.75	3.10	5.85	9.58	9.43	19.01
7	2.83	3.13	5.96	3.60	2.83	6.43	3.36	2.88	6.24	9.79	8.84	18.63
8	2.60	3.14	5.76	2.20	2.16	4.36	2.75	2.33	5.08	7.55	7.63	15.18
9	1.75	1.56	3.31	2.00	1.67	3.67	2.63	1.92	4.55	6.38	5.15	11.53
10	0.64	0.58	1.22	0.78	0.70	1.48	0.75	0.62	1.37	2.17	1.90	4.07
11	1.16	1.33	2.49	1.16	1.00	2.16	0.94	1.10	2.04	3.26	3.43	6.69
12	1.25	1.43	2.68	0.70	0.64	1.34	1.21	1.08	2.29	3.16	3.15	6.31
13	2.56	2.86	5.42	2.50	2.80	5.30	2.50	2.50	5.00	7.56	8.16	15.72
14	3.60	3.50	7.10	3.90	3.58	7.48	3.69	3.44	7.13	11.19	10.52	21.71
15	2.37	2.13	4.50	2.50	2.36	4.86	2.50	2.28	4.78	7.37	6.77	14.14
16	2.57	2.67	5.24	2.31	2.50	4.81	2.59	2.55	5.14	7.47	7.72	15.19
17	1.43	0.64	2.07	1.83	1.50	3.33	1.66	1.29	2.95	4.92	3.43	8.35
18	2.45	3.00	5.45	2.66	3.13	5.79	2.69	2.83	5.52	7.80	8.96	16.76
19	3.29	3.71	7.00	3.88	3.90	7.78	3.50	3.50	7.00	10.67	11.11	21.78
20	2.40	2.13	4.53	2.57	2.29	4.86	2.56	2.14	4.70	7.53	6.56	14.09
21	1.29	1.80	3.09	1.00	0.88	1.88	0.75	1.50	2.25	3.04	4.18	7.22
22	2.30	1.00	3.30	2.16	2.25	4.41	2.50	2.07	4.57	6.96	5.32	12.28
23	0.70	1.00	1.70	0.50	0.54	1.04	0.68	0.94	1.62	1.88	2.48	4.36
24	0.78	1.20	1.98	0.59	0.72	1.31	0.75	0.94	1.69	2.12	2.86	4.98
25	1.71	1.16	2.87	2.10	1.77	3.87	1.70	1.25	2.95	5.51	4.18	9.69
26	2.50	2.80	5.30	3.38	2.92	6.30	3.00	3.00	6.00	8.88	8.72	17.60

Table 4 (Continued)

Item	Average opinion scores: Random opinion			F values
	P	C	P + C	
1	0.61	0.93	1.53	0.00605
2	1.50	1.50	3.00	4.91305*[a]
3	2.95	3.58	6.53	33.12264**[b]
4	1.25	0.85	2.10	1.02223
5	1.70	0.75	2.45	18.96870**
6	3.61	2.62	6.23	0.18297
7	3.58	3.26	6.84	6.00181*
8	3.13	3.18	6.31	23.62770**
9	1.62	1.58	3.20	6.19386*
10	0.80	0.66	1.46	0.15122
11	1.28	1.34	2.62	2.30002
12	1.41	1.35	2.76	6.58703*
13	2.75	3.42	6.17	13.07878**
14	3.67	3.74	7.41	0.43702
15	2.47	1.97	4.44	1.10237
16	2.63	3.14	5.77	7.62286**
17	1.59	1.15	2.74	0.02419
18	2.55	3.03	5.58	0.00151
19	3.50	3.97	7.47	0.66687
20	2.38	1.79	4.17	4.24770*
21	1.31	1.90	3.21	9.67791**
22	2.41	1.81	4.22	0.25556
23	0.81	1.15	1.96	3.93316
24	0.84	1.43	2.27	5.62680*
25	1.73	1.70	3.43	0.60487
26	3.31	3.33	6.64	8.96567**

[a] $F_{1,75}\ .05 = 3.970$.

[b] $F_{1,75}\ .01 = 6.985$.

of the criteria. We requested two responses to each question asked. There are 52 possible responses from each of the 45 persons in the random group and from the 45 persons who made up the religious subgroups. It is assumed that the differential perception factor will be constant in each direction, community and personal opinion, when the respondent answers a question.

A number of comparisons are possible from these data but in this design we were concerned with only the following. Within each subgroup and in the random group, a median value was determined for the responses of each group as a unit. This value included both parts of each question. We also computed the sum of the two parts to each question by groups. These data are given in Table 4 along with the totals for the subgroups.

A 26x4x2 factorial design was used to analyze these data. The 26 Questions on the questionnaire were answered by four Groups (one random and three church groups) according to two Directions (personal opinion and community opinion). Table 4 summarizes the analysis of variance test on the questionnaire data.

Applying analysis of variance test

To test the Question main effect, we find F = 139.37 with 25 and 75 degrees of freedom. This value is highly significant. One would expect a high value here because of

Table 5. Analysis of variance of the data from table 4.

Source	Degrees of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean square	F	F table values .01	.05
Question (Q)	25	172.8201	6.9128	139.37	2.05	1.65
Group (G)	3	.6675	.2225	4.49	4.06	2.73
Direction (D)	1	.0586	.0586	1.18	6.98	3.97
QxG	75	8.0528	.1074	2.17	1.72	1.46
QxD	25	5.4421	.2177	4.39	2.05	1.65
GxD	3	.2993	.0998	2.01	4.06	2.73
QxGxD	75	3.7233	.0496			
Total	207	191.0637				

the nature of the questionnaire. The mean square for Question corresponds to comparison of the means of the 26 questions averaged over the four groups and over the personal-community opinion responses. The fact that the mean square is significant leads to the conclusion that, among the four groups and between the personal attitude of the respondents and their perceptions of the community attitude toward status criteria, there is a significant difference, taken all together.

The Group main effect is a critical aspect of our analysis. With F = 4.49, 3 and 75 degrees of freedom, we have a

value which is significant above the .01 level. This test represents a comparison between the means of each of the groups averaged over the means of the 26 questions and over the means of the personal-community directions. This mean square is indicative of significant differences between groups due to the fact that each group's response to the questions in relation to the directions (personal and community) follows a significantly different pattern from one to another. We have statistical evidence here to assert that there are differences from group to group because each group differentially perceives the various status criteria both in personal opinion and in perception of community opinion.

The main effect for Direction is found to be not significant. The F value of 1.18 with 1 and 75 degrees of freedom is small, as would be expected in this analysis. The mean square in this test represents a comparison between the means of the personal-community responses averaged over the 26 questions and over the four means of the groups. Since this F value is not significant, we conclude that the responses to personal attitudes and the perception of community attitudes follow similar trends for individual respondents.

We now come to the interpretation of the interaction effects. Let us consider first the mean square for the QxG interaction which is significant at a point above the .01

level (F = 2.17, with 75 and 75 degrees of freedom). The means of the responses to the 26 questions for one group are found to be significantly different from the means of the responses for any other group. In other words, the difference which is found in the responses to the questions is not independent of the group from which the responses come. This leads us to conclude that it is very possible that the differences in the responses to the 26 questions are actually different from group to group. It is highly probable that the way people responded to these questions depended upon the group to which they belong.

The second interaction effect in the analysis is Question by Direction. This mean square is also highly significant with F = 4.39 with 25 and 75 degrees of freedom. Since the QxD mean square is significant, we conclude that the Q effect is not independent of the D factor. An examination of the mean differences for the Questions by Direction indicates that the differences are not similar. It is highly unlikely that the magnitudes of the mean differences which are evident, when one Direction is compared with the other, could occur by chance.

The respondents' answers to the questions evidence a kind of consistency in that, although the answers from question to question are highly variable, the Question effect is actually dependent upon the effect of personal opinion and the perception of community attitudes about status criteria.

In other words, people in general perceive status criteria differently than they believe these criteria are perceived by the community as a whole. People do not see themselves as typical in terms of their rating of status criteria.

The last aspect of this analysis of variance is the interaction of Group by Direction. This value was found to be nonsignificant with F = 2.01 with 3 and 75 degrees of freedom. In the analysis of the main effects we took the test of the Group effect to indicate that we were dealing with four different groups. We also asserted that the Direction effect provided evidence that personal opinion about status criteria and the individual's perception of community tended to follow similar trends although, perhaps, not at the same level. An analysis of the interaction between these two effects has been found to be not significant. It can be accounted for by computing the differences of the means for the two Directions for each of the four Groups. When this is done it is found that the mean differences are comparable in each case and this results in nonsignificant GxD interaction.

The fact of nonsignificance can be interpreted in the following manner. Nonsignificance may be taken to indicate in this instance that when people are considered in relation to their own in-group, there is no significant difference in the responses to the 26 questions. This effect is to be expected if the hypothesis is correct that differential

perception is affected by in-group ties.

Interaction of individual questions

Since statistical evidence has been provided to indicate the level of significance of the interaction as a whole, it may be of further interest to discover which questions appear to contribute most to the interaction. There is an appropriate F test for this investigation.

$$F_{1,75} = \frac{(\bar{X}_{1,2,3} = \bar{X}_4)^2}{.0496\ (\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{1})}$$

where $\bar{X}_{1,2,3}$ = the mean of the sum of the responses (personal and community) of each of the three subgroups and $\bar{X}_4$ = the mean of the sum of the responses of the random group. This formula is derived from the standard t test for comparing the difference between two means. Significance is indicated at the .01 level by F = 6.985, and at the .05 level by F = 3.97 with 1 and 75 degrees of freedom. The results of the F tests for each question are given in Table 4.

In this research, seven questions were found to be significant above the .01 level. This number is equal to 27 per cent of the total number of questions. Six additional questions were found to be significant above the .05 level. These 13 questions constitute 50 per cent of the total number on the questionnaire.

The 13 questions which appear to contribute most of the interaction are included in Table 6.

Table 6. Questions of statistical significance from questionnaire

A. Questions significant at the .01 level, $F_{1,75} = 6.985$.

3. Talking frequently to someone from the lowest status groups, if you are a woman.

F value: 33.12264
Subgroup ratings (Personal plus Community opinion)*[a]
Cath. 5.41 Luth. 4.70 Meth. 5.04 Random 6.53

5. Marrying someone from a prominent family.

F value: 18.96870
Subgroup ratings
Cath. 3.13 Luth. 4.04 Meth. 3.54 Random 2.45

13. Working as a maid or a cleaning woman.

F value: 13.07878
Subgroup scores
Cath. 5.42 Luth. 5.30 Meth. 5.00 Random 6.17

8. Not possessing a high school diploma.

F value: 23.62770
Subgroup scores
Cath. 5.76 Luth. 4.36 Meth. 5.08 Random 6.31

16. Having no automobile.

F value: 7.62286
Subgroup scores
Cath. 5.24 Luth. 4.81 Meth. 5.14 Random 5.77

21. Reading "better" literature rather than other printed matter.

F value: 9.67791
Subgroup scores
Cath. 3.09 Luth. 1.88 Meth. 2.25 Random 3.21

26. Drinking beer occasionally in a tavern.

F value: 8.96567
Subgroup scores
Cath. 5.30 Luth. 6.30 Meth. 6.00 Random 6.64

[a]These values are group opinion scores. A <u>low</u> score indicates the factor contributes to <u>high</u> status.

Table 6 (Continued)

B. Questions significant at the .05 level, $F_{1,75} = 3.970$.

2. Having a large number of children, all well cared for.

F value: 4.91305
Subgroup scores
Cath. 3.58 Luth. 3.60 Meth. 3.54 Random 3.00

7. Smoking in public, if you are a woman.

F value: 6.00181
Subgroup scores
Cath. 5.96 Luth. 6.43 Meth. 6.24 Random 6.84

9. Having a child in school who excells in scholarship or other school activity.

F value: 6.19386
Subgroup scores
Cath. 3.31 Luth. 3.67 Meth. 4.55 Random 3.20

12. Being a public school teacher.

F value: 6.58703
Subgroup scores
Cath. 2.68 Luth. 1.34 Meth. 2.29 Random 2.76

20. Playing bridge as a member of a bridge club.

F value: 4.24770
Subgroup scores
Cath. 4.53 Luth. 4.86 Meth. 4.70 Random 4.17

24. Being active in a church rather than inactive.

F value: 5.62680
Subgroup scores.
Cath. 1.98 Luth. 1.31 Meth. 1.69 Random 2.27

Applying analysis to hypotheses

The 26x4x2 factorial design was chosen to test hypotheses four and five.

Ho. 4. When comparing the responses to the questionnaire, differential perception of status criteria will be evidenced by significantly different responses to the items of the questionnaire, varying by subgroups.

Ho. 5. When comparing the responses to the questionnaire administered to the random group and the three subgroups, differential perception of status criteria will be evidenced by significantly different responses from each of the subgroups in comparison to the responses of the random group.

In the analysis of variance table there is highly significant statistical evidence in regard to the Question effect. However, this does not tell us much about the interaction since a considerable amount of this interaction is due to the differences of choices which are naturally expected from question to question. A wide range of responses was expected to occur among the questions taken all together. Some criteria mentioned would seem to contribute much to status while other criteria were expected to detract greatly from status. This wide range of score possibilities is reflected in the Question mean square.

The high significance for Group effects is a more meaningful measure for our study. We concluded that there are

real differences in the perception of status criteria from group to group. This difference occurs both in regard to the personal opinion of status criteria and the individual's perception of community opinion.

Further support for our hypotheses is derived in a negative way from the main effect for Direction. No lack of consistency was found in the way the respondents, in general, perceived personal and community opinion. That which was found to detract from status, from a personal point of view, was perceived as detracting from a community point of view as well. However, the intensity of feeling in regard to the criteria might vary between the two points of view.

The interaction mean squares are also highly significant at the points where we would expect them to be if the hypotheses are valid. The way people regard status criteria is very closely related to the in-group to which they belong. People consistently report that, although they have a perception of how the community defines the norms, their own perception of status criteria is different from those norms.

The third interaction mean square was found to be non-significant and this provides us with another item of evidence from a negative point of view. There is evidence here that the responses of individuals within subgroups are not significantly dissimilar among people. This supports the point of view regarding conformity to the in-group norms.

In view of the evidence found in this statistical

analysis which does not refute the hypotheses, we are led to conclude that differential perception is quite probably a factor in the determination of status criteria. The hypotheses four and five are not rejected.

Discussion of the General Hypothesis

The general hypothesis of this research was stated as follows:

Ho. 1. When groups are stratified according to religious affiliation such as outlined above, the members of the subgroups will differentially perceive the status of others.

We previously cited literature in the field of social stratification theory which would lead us to expect that this may be the case because of the affectional patterns of in-groups. We have cited some oblique references by researchers in the field who have been primarily interested in other aspects of social stratification. In addition we have shown from the literature that contemporary students of stratification theory have noted that in-group ties appear to be important enough to be studied in relation to social stratification. We have also noted that there are relatively few studies in this area from which empirical evidence may be presented.

This study was chosen in order to contribute additional empirical evidence of the effects of affectional ties on the perception of status criteria, and the general hypothesis

was formed with this in mind.

Two statistical models were devised to test the four related hypotheses and these have been reported above. None of the hypotheses was rejected because the levels of significance were such that it did not appear that the evidence refuted the hypotheses. The levels of significance derived from the data in the second design are highly encouraging.

The general hypothesis of this research is not directly supported by a statistical design. It is the contention of the writer that logical support has been given for the hypothesis from both theoretical and statistical sources.

The ground work for this contention has been laid in the following manner. Specific references have been cited from the literature which indicate that it has been accepted from previous research that affectional contacts tend to occur more frequently within in-group situations. We have attempted to establish the premise that religious affiliations of the type investigated here are truly in-group systems. Hence it is contended that the kind of contacts generated among people of a similar religious affiliation will tend to develop perceptions which are similar among the group members. These correlations however do not indicate that the perceptions of in-groups will differ from group to group. This aspect of the general hypothesis was developed from the statistical models.

The evidence of differential perception of status criteria depends upon the logic of the assumption that empirical evidence of differential responses to aspects of status criteria and differential judgments of status ratings are each prima-facie evidence of differential perception of status criteria. In this thesis it is contended that this is a logical assumption.

The evidence for differential perception between groups has been derived from the analyses of the two statistical problems which were accepted as giving support to four related hypotheses. Each problem provided the researcher with a design for the investigation of group responses to aspects of status criteria. In both cases it was asserted that there was empirical evidence to accept the contention that differential applications of status criteria were evident among the groups stratified according to religious affiliation. The differential response patterns are taken as inferential evidence that differential perception of status criteria also occurs among groups stratified according to religious affiliation.

It is here asserted that in this manner closure has been demonstrated between the theoretical and the empirical evidence. The hypothesis is not rejected that when groups are stratified according to religious affiliation such as outlined above the members of the subgroups will differentially perceive the status of others.

CONCLUSIONS

In this monograph we have reported two types of investigative approaches to differential perception of status criteria, both of which have yielded significant results from a statistical point of view.

The same independent variable was used in each model. Forty-five people were chosen from three groups which were expected to exhibit response patterns which were independent of each other. We used a group of judges as a comparison group in the study of status ratings, and in the study of status criteria we chose a random sample from a separate strata of the population. One of the models employed status rating as the dependent variable and the other model used specific status criteria.

As a result of the application of the two statistical designs, we have asserted that we have identified three groups of people who exhibit similar perceptions of status criteria within their own groups and that their collective in-group perceptions differ from group to group. The results of the study, however, do not permit us to generalize to other populations. Further investigations of differential perception of status criteria in relation to in-group participation should be conducted in various types of communities in the United States. Such investigations could profit from the present research in that we have tested two

different methods of determining perception of status criteria and have found them useful. Of the two methods, the questionnaire appears to be preferred because of the indication of greater statistical significance and because data are more easily collected with this design.

The fact that evidence was found to support the hypotheses about differential perception as it is affected by in-group ties, however, should not overshadow the fundamental purpose of the research which was stated explicitly in the monograph. "This research...should make a contribution toward clarifying the persistent problems in the field of social stratification associated with the criteria of social status."

As we have indicated, retesting of the hypotheses is required before we can be confident that the results reported here are typical. The specific relationships between affectional relationships and differential perception must be incorporated into a larger body of social stratification theory. At the same time we feel that the research constitutes a start in the clarification of the problem with which it deals.

It is difficult to provide direct evidence that the purpose of this research actually has been fulfilled because of the manner in which theoretical concepts are supported in contrast to the way one supports the results derived from an empirical study. This experimental study will have to await

the judgment of others in this regard but it is our contention that the purpose of the research has been fulfilled. We hope that it will encourage further investigation by others who are interested in social stratification. Perhaps at some future time the results of this study, and similar ones which may follow, will be worked into a larger body of social stratification theory.

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APPENDIX A

A list of items which are often thought to be related to a person's social standing in the community is given below. Not all of the items affect a person's status in the same way in every community and some may not have any effect at all. It may be that individual opinions differ from each other and also that opinions of an individual differs from the community in general.

Will you please record your observations and opinions as objectively as you can according to the following system?

I. We want both your personal opinion and how you believe the community feels in each case. You do not need to put your name on the paper at all if you want to remain anonymous.

II. Rate the items from one to five (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) as follows:

Number 1. if the item considerably improves one's status in the community; if it is very important.

Number 2. if the item somewhat improves one's status depending on the circumstances of the case; if it definitely helps but is not the most important.

Number 3. if the item has no noticeable effect on one's status.

Number 4. if the item somewhat detracts from one's status depending on the circumstances; if it definitely harms status but not as much as the next group.

Number 5. if the item considerably detracts from one's status in the community; if it is seriously damaging to status.

Please try to include your own personal opinion where it is requested (Part I) and what you understand most people think in the community (Part II) regardless of what you believe it ought to be. If you find it helpful to qualify or illustrate your rating of certain items please do so by writing after the item or on the back of the same sheet.

ITEMS SOMETIMES RELATED TO STATUS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES (Circle TWO numbers)

1. Having lived in the community for a long time.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

2. Being a newcomer in the community in an occupation of "fast turnover."
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

3. Being a newcomer in the community in a stable occupation.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

4. Being a person of high moral standards.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

5. Having no children after having been married several years.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

6. Having a very large number of children provided for with difficulty.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

7. Having a very large number of children, all well cared for.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

8. Talking frequently to someone from the lowest status groups, if you are a man.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

9. Talking frequently to someone from one of the lowest status groups, if you are a woman.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

10. Permitting your children to play frequently with children from one of the lowest status groups.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

11. Being "community minded," active in community affairs.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

12. Entertaining and being entertained by people of the higher status groups.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

13. Dating young men or young women from families of higher status.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

14. Dining out frequently without any special reason.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

15. Marrying someone from a prominent family.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

16. Having your name frequently in the social columns of the local newspaper.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

17. Belonging to some club(s) or lodge(s), rather than none.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

18. Keeping an untidy house.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

19. Being of the "right" nationality or descent, or of the major nationality of the community.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

20. Being of the "wrong" nationality or descent, or a minority nationality in the community.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

21. Sending children to school in clean clothes which are somewhat poorer than those of the other children.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

22. Having been divorced.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

23. Smoking in public, if you are a woman.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

24. Having been to a college or university.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

25. Not possessing a high school diploma.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

26. Sending one's children to college.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

27. Having a child in school who excells in scholarship or other school activity.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

28. Having a child who is slow and retarded in his school work.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

29. Going to college to enter an occupation which requires college training.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

30. Having your children engage in their life work outside the community.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

31. Having your children stay in the community or return to it for their life work.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

32. Having your children leave home and be "on their own" vocationally, although they remain in the community.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

33. Being the proprietor of a business.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

34. Being in a professional occupation such as a doctor, minister or lawyer.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

35. Being a skilled worker.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

36. Being a semi-skilled worker.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

37. Being a clerk in a store.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

38. Being a public school teacher.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

39. Being an unskilled laborer.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

40. Working as a maid or cleaning woman in homes.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

41. Being able to live a life of leisure--without working--as a result of "unearned income" while under the age of 65.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

42. Being able to live without working but working anyway.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

43. Being extremely talented in working with machinery.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

44. Having an occupation that does not involve much physical effort.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

45. Having a job which demands that you report for work promptly at regular hours, five or six days a week.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

46. Having an occupation involving a lot of physical effort.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

47. Working regularly as somesone else's employee.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

48. Changing jobs frequently.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

49. Being a town person who owns a farm and renting it to someone else to run.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

50. Having your children go into some occupation other than farming.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

51. Being a Farm Bureau member.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

52. Owning income-producing property.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

53. Managing or otherwise controling a considerable amount of property.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

54. Owning your own home.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

55. Renting the home you live in.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

56. Living in the "better residential section" of the community. (If no such section exists in your community please check here ___)
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

57. Having a house of high quality.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

58. Having your home well furnished.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

59. Wearing valuable jewelry.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

60. Having more than one automobile.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

61. Having no automobile.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

62. Having a recent model automobile.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

63. Having a high income.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

64. Having been on relief during an emergency period.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

65. Being on relief.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

66. Having relatives who sometimes are on relief.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

67. Hiring some help with household duties regularly but not for reasons of illness or other emergency.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

68. Wearing high quality, expensive clothing.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

69. Buying clothing out of town.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

70. Buying more consumers' goods than do other community members who have approximately the same income.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

71. Going greater distances than others go for recreational events.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

72. Bowling regularly.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

73. Playing golf regularly.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

74. Playing bridge as a member of a bridge club.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

75. Reading "better" literature rather than other printed matter.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

76. Playing card games other than bridge, for pleasure only.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

77. Playing card games other than bridge, for money stakes.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

78. Spending the winter out of the state, especially in California or Florida.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

79. Drinking beer occasionally in a tavern.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

80. Drinking beer at home, but not in public.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

81. Drinking cocktails or highballs at private parties only.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

82. Belonging to a church, rather than to no church.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

83. Being active in a church rather than inactive.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

84. Belonging to one of the higher status churches rather than to one of the others. What church(s) would this be? _____
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

85. Holding an office in church affairs.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

86. Being a Democrat rather than a Republican.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

87. Being a Republican rather than a Democrat.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

88. Being "active in politics," rather than inactive.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

89. Holding a local political office.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

90. Holding a state political office.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

Will you now look over the list of items again and

Mark a plus (+) to the left of the <u>five</u> (5) items that you feel are the <u>most</u> important for <u>giving status</u> in the community, and
Mark a minus (-) at the left of the <u>five</u> (5) items that you feel are the <u>most</u> important for <u>detracting from status</u> in the community.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

APPENDIX B

A list of items which are often thought to be related to a person's social standing in the community is given below. Not all of the items affect a person's status in the same way in every community and some may not have any effect at all. It may be that individual opinions differ from each other and also that opinions of an individual differs from the community in general.

Will you please record your observations and opinions as objectively as you can according to the following system?

I. We want both your personal opinion and how you believe the community feels in each case. You do not need to put your name on the paper at all if you want to remain anonymous.

II. Rate the items from one to five (1,2,3,4,5) as follows:

Number 1. if the item considerably improves one's status in the community; if it is very important.

Number 2. if the item somewhat improves one's status depending on the circumstances of the case; if it definitely helps but is not the most important.

Number 3. if the item has no noticeable effect on one's status.

Number 4. if the item somewhat detracts from one's status depending on the circumstances; if it definitely harms status but not as much as the next group.

Number 5. if the item considerably detracts from one's status in the community; if it is seriously damaging to status.

Please try to include your own personal opinion where it is requested (Part I) and what you understand most people think in the community (Part II) regardless of what you believe it ought to be. If you find it helpful to qualify or illustrate your rating of certain items please do so by writing after the item or on the back of the same sheet.

ITEMS SOMETIMES RELATED TO STATUS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES (Circle TWO numbers)

1. Being a person of high moral standards.
   PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

2. Having a very large number of children, all well cared for.
   PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

3. Talking frequently to someone from one of the lowest status groups, if you are a woman.
   PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

4. Being "community minded," active in community affairs.
   PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

5. Marrying someone from a prominent family.
   PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

6. Keeping an untidy house.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

7. Smoking in public, if you are a woman.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

8. Not possessing a high school diploma.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

9. Having a child in school who excels in scholarship or other school activity.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

10. Being in a professional occupation such as a doctor, minister or lawyer.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

11. Being a skilled worker.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

12. Being a public school teacher.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

13. Working as a maid or cleaning woman in homes.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

14. Changing jobs frequently.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

15. Having more than one automobile.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

16. Having no automobile.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

17. Having a high income.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

18. Having been on relief during an emergency period.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

19. Being on relief.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

20. Playing bridge as a member of a bridge club.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

21. Reading "better" literature rather than other printed matter.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

22. Spending the winter out of the state, especially in California or Florida.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

23. Belonging to a church, rather than to no church.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

24. Being active in a church rather than inactive.
PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

25. Holding a local political office.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

26. Drinking beer occasionally in a tavern.

PERSONAL OPINION 1 2 3 4 5 COMMUNITY OPINION 1 2 3 4 5

Will you now look over the list of items again and

Mark a plus (+) to the left of the five (5) items that you feel are the most important for giving status in the community, and

Mark a minus (-) at the left of the five (5) items that you feel are the most important for detracting from status in the community.

- -

How long have you lived in the community? _____

Which of the families listed on the cards do you or your spouse visit with--either in your home or theirs--more than once a month?

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

What other families visit an average of once a month?

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

What families visit about twice a year or so?

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Which of the families have never visited with you?

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Please check any of the following organizations to which anyone from your family belongs.

____Band and Chorus Boosters
____Volunteer Fire Dept.
____Town Council
____School Board
____Oddfellow's Lodge
____Masonic Lodge
____Eastern Star
____Rebekah Lodge
____Catholic Daughters of America
____Knights of Columbus
____P.E.O.
____T.T.T.
____American Legion
____American Legion Auxiliary
____American Red Cross
____American Cancer Society
____Community Service Club
____Kingsley Development Assn.
____Kingsley Commercial Club
____Farm Bureau
____Nat'l. Farmers' Organization
____Farmers' Elevator
____Plymouth Electric Co-op
____Lion's Club
____Local Golf Club
____Ladies Golf Club
____City Bowling League
____Church Bowling League
____Women's Bowling League
____Monday Bridge Club
____8 'Til Late Bridge Club
____Bridgettes Card Club
____Bid As U Like Club
____Monday Night Supper Club
____Jolly Dozen Club
____Westside 500 Club
____O.D.T. Club
____Federated Home & Garden Club

Additional Adult Organizations like those listed above:

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX C

Instructions for Conducting the Interviews

We shall assume that the responses of either the husband or the wife will be similar, and, therefore, an interview with either or both persons will be satisfactory. Please do not explain the research. You are the person who is gaining from the interview in the eyes of the respondents and the way they respond is to be thought of as a separate experience quite apart from any other interview. Answer only those questions which seem necessary to get cooperation and to complete the interview satisfactorily. Especially do not tell the person what criteria he should use in ranking individuals by class.

Please follow these steps in order if at all possible.

1. Take a little time to get acquainted. You are expected and you will be welcome in each home or shop, but a few introductory words before the interview gets under way will be helpful in gaining rapport for the interview.
2. Introduce the cards next. Ask the person to assume that there are three social classes in the village--high, middle, and low. Ask him to sort the cards and place the people in the class into which he thinks they belong and to set aside any names he does not know.

It does not necessarily follow that the respondent will place some people in each of the classes but he probably will. Neither is it necessary that the classes be of equal size. Stay with the person while this sorting is being done.

After this step is completed, ask the person to make a further division of the high class and the low class. Again, it would be expected that the groups will not be equal in size but there probably will be some in each of the groups.

3. Present the questionnaire and ask the person to fill it out. Have a pencil ready.
4. While this is being completed, take time to mark the cards according to the assignment of class: 1A, 1B, 2, 3A, 3B, and Unknown. Do this quickly because the respondent may ask for the cards back to help in the completion of page 3 of the questionnaire.

   Keep each set separate. After you have marked the class number on the cards, they do not need to be kept in order but they ought not to be mixed with the cards from any other set.
5. Be sure to thank the person for the help he has given you! This is always appreciated.